

## Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-25

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TO AMEMBASSY LUSAKA IMMEDIATE  
INFO USMISSION USUN NEW YORK IMMEDIATE  
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C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 118508

EXDIS. FOR AMBASSADOR LOW

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1

TAGS: RH, UK, PDEV

SUBJECT: RHODESIA: GRAHAM - LOW MEETING, LONDON, MAY 12

I. DEPARTMENT EXPECTS THAT YOUR MEETING IN LONDON WITH JOHNNY GRAHAM WILL BE PRIMARILY DEVOTED TO AN EXCHANGE OF VIEWS ON GENERAL TACTICS FOR YOUR FORTHCOMING MISSION TO SOUTHERN AFRICA. THE FOLLOWING THOUGHTS ARE OFFERED FOR YOUR POSSIBLE USE WITH GRAHAM. YOU SHOULD ALSO DRAW ON POINTS MADE IN SECRETARY'S RESPONSE TO OWEN'S LETTER (SEPTTEL).

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2. TIMING - MISSION SHOULD BEGIN AS SOON AS POSSIBLE AFTER KAUNDA'S VISIT TO THE U.S. AND U.K.

3. ORDER OF VISITS - TEAM SHOULD TOUCH BASE WITH PF AND AS MANY OF THE FRONT LINE GOVERNMENTS AS POSSIBLE BEFORE GOING INTO SALISBURY. IN FIRST ROUND IT WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY TO SEE NKOMO AND MUGABE TOGETHER.

HOWEVER, ENOUGH LEAD TIME EXISTS TO GIVE THE PF LEADERS ADVANCED NOTICE OF TEAM'S INTENTIONS AND TO ARRANGE FOR A MEETING JOINTLY WITH NKOMO AND MUGABE, IF THAT IS THEIR WISH.

4. FACILITIES - DATT PLANE IN PRETORIA WILL BE AVAILABLE

FOR TRAVEL. PROHIBITION ON USE OF DATT PLANE FOR RHODESIAN TRAVEL IS LIFTED. HOWEVER, COMMERCIAL CARRIERS SHOULD BE USED WHENEVER PRACTICABLE.

5. WITH FRONT LINE, WE SHOULD EXPLAIN INTENTIONS OF GRAHAM-LOW TEAM AND MAKE STRONG PUSH FOR FRONT LINE TO REACH OUT TO MUZOREWA, REASSURING HIM THAT HE HAS A REAL POLITICAL FUTURE UNDER THE AAP, AND URGING THAT HE GIVE IT MORE SERIOUS ATTENTION.

6. GOAL OF MEETING WITH PF IS TO "BUILD UPON" DAR. THIS HAS BEEN SPECIFICALLY URGED UPON US BY THE FRONT LINE. ISSUES TO BE DISCUSSED INCLUDE:

A. POWERS OF THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER - PRESS THE PF FOR GREATER CLARITY ON EXECUTIVE AUTHORITY FOR RC IN DEFENSE AND LAW AND ORDER. NOTE OUR OBJECTION TO PF'S POSITION THAT GOVERNING COUNCIL'S LEGISLATIVE AUTHORITY IN THESE AREAS COULD OVERRIDE RC. PRESS CASE FOR PF  
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ACCEPTANCE OF RC'S POWERS OVER EXTERNAL AFFAIRS AND ELECTORAL COMMISSION.

B. COMPOSITION OF THE GOVERNING COUNCIL - WE SEE NO ADVANTAGE TO UK'S IDEA OF OFFERING TO DOUBLE THE NUMBER OF SEATS ON GOVERNING COUNCIL AT THIS TIME. WE SHOULD MAKE THE POINT TO THE PF THAT WE STILL PREFER TO BASE EVENTUAL ALLOCATIONS ON GENEVA PARTICIPATION, BUT THAT COMPOSITION OF COUNCIL IS TOPIC WHICH SHOULD BE DECIDED BY THE PARTIES THEMSELVES AT ROUNDTABLE MEETING. WE SHOULD ALSO SEEK TO CLARIFY FURTHER THE POWER OF THE GC AND ITS RELATIONSHIP TO THE RESIDENT COMMISSIONER AND THE UN SPECIAL REPRESENTATIVE.

C. CONSTITUTION - BRITISH HAVE SUGGESTED POSSIBILITY OF RAISING THIS ISSUE WITH PF. WE BELIEVE PF WOULD VIEW IT AS BLATANT ATTEMPT TO STALL FOR TIME. THUS, WE SHOULD SUGGEST THAT DISCUSSION OF CONSTITUTIONAL MATTERS NOT BE UNDERTAKEN UNTIL OTHER MORE PRESSING ISSUES HAVE BEEN AIRED OR UNLESS THE PARTIES BRING UP SPECIFIC CONSTITUTIONAL TOPICS.

D. ARMY - FURTHER DISCUSSION OF CARVER'S PLANS ARE TO BE ENCOURAGED. WILL GRAHAM HAVE A MEMBER OF CARVER'S STAFF TRAVELLING WITH HIM?

E. POLICE - AS SECRETARIES OWEN AND VANCE DISCUSSED IN LONDON, WE SHOULD SUGGEST TO THE PF THE POSSIBILITIES OF INCREASED POLICE RECRUITMENT FOR PF PARTISANS DURING THE TRANSITION AND A LARGER UN CIVILIAN POLICE FORCE.

(FYI: SECRETARY VANCE FEELS STRONGLY WE SHOULD PURSUE THIS LINE OF THINKING.) AS FALLBACK POSITIONS WE SHOULD BE ABLE TO OFFER IDEAS WHICH WERE DISCUSSED WITH GRAHAM WHEN HE VISITED WASHINGTON (E.G. DIRECT ASSOCIATION OF NATIONALISTS WITH UN POLICE OBSERVERS, DEMOBILIZATION OR NEUTRALIZA-  
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TION OF THE PARAMILITARY POLICE). IT IS IMPORTANT THAT THE UK/US APPEAR FLEXIBLE ON THIS ISSUE WHILE PRESERVING BASIC AUTHORITY OF LORD CARVER.

7. IN SALISBURY, PERHAPS THE MOST WE CAN ACCOMPLISH IS TO MAINTAIN CONTACT WITH THE PARTIES TO THE INTERNAL AGREEMENT AND TO SHOW THAT, IN SEEING THEM, WE ARE TAKING AN EVEN-HANDED APPROACH TO CONTINUING TALKS. HOWEVER, WE SHOULD CONTINUE TO TRY TO CONVINCE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL (EC) ' OR INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF VALUE OF ROUNDTABLE MEETINGS. IF THE OCCASION ARISES,WE SHOULD ALSO DISCUSS SPECIFIC ISSUES, E.G. UN ROLE, COMPOSITION AND POWERS OF THE GOVERNING COUNCIL, ETC.,WITH THE INDIVIDUAL MEMBERS OF THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL. PRESENCE OF GRAHAM-LOW TEAM IN SALISBURY ALSO OFFERS OPPORTUNITY TO GO OVER IN DETAIL ANGLO-AMERICAN PROPOSALS, CLEARING UP DOUBTS AND SYSTEM-ATICALLY EXPLAINING POINTS WHICH MAY NOT BE UNDERSTOOD OR HAVE ESCAPED THE ATTENTION OF THE SALISBURY GROUP.MEETINGS WITH EC OR REPRESENTATIVES AS A BODY WILL BE UNAVOID-ABLE AND,AT THE OUTSET,PROBABLY UNPRODUCTIVE. SIGNIFICANT APPROACHES WILL BE TO SMITH (VIA GAYLARD AND OTHERS) AND MUZOREWA.

8. SPECIFIC MESSAGE TO MUZOREWA IS THAT WE AND AFRICANS HAVE NOT WRITTEN HIM OFF, THAT HE SHOULD INDICATE WILLINGNESS TO NEGOTIATE WITH PF, WITH OR WITHOUT HIS EXECUTIVE COUNCIL COLLEAGUES, AND THAT BEFORE ENGAGING IN TALKS HE WOULD NOT HAVE TO ABANDON "INTERNAL SETTLEMENT" WE SHOULD ALSO STRESS TO MUZOREWA THAT HE HAS THE MOST TO GAIN FROM INTERNATIONALLY SUPERVISED ELECTIONS AND GENERAL FAIR PLAY IN THE ELECTORAL PROCESS. WE SHOULD ALSO REITERATE ADVANTAGES TO BE GAINED THROUGH INTERNATION-ALLY ACCEPTABLE SETTLEMENT.  
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9. WITH SMITH WE SHOULD PLAY TO REGIME'S OBVIOUS CONCERN ABOUT DETERIORATING ECONOMIC SITUATION, MAKING POINT THAT LIFTING OF SANCTIONS AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE CAN ONLY COME THROUGH INTERNATIONALLY ACCEPTANCE SETTLEMENT. WE WILL WANT TO AVOID APPEARING TO GIVE BLESSING TO TACTIC OF REFERENDUM AS MEANS OF SECURING INTERNATIONAL SUPPORT.

10. APPROACH TO EXECUTIVE COUNCIL AS A WHOLE SHOULD BE BASED ON THEIR APRIL 25 STATEMENT IN WHICH THEY ARGUED

THAT MEETING ALONG THE LINES WE HAD SUGGESTED WOULD BE DOOMED TO FAILURE. WE SHOULD ASK THEM IF THEY HAVE ANY BETTER SUGGESTIONS FOR STRUCTURING A MEETING, NOTING THAT THEIR SIMPLE ARGUMENT THAT NKOMO AND MUGABE SHOULD COME BACK TO SALISBURY TO JOIN THE EXECUTIVE COUNCIL IS NOT PRACTICABLE. VANCE

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